This book is a publication of

Indiana University Press
601 North Morton Street
Bloomington, IN 47404-3797 USA

http://iupress.indiana.edu

Telephone orders	800-842-6796
Fax orders	812-855-7931
Orders by e-mail	iuporder@indiana.edu

Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Kugle, Scott Alan, date
Rebel between spirit and law : Ahmad Zarruq, sainthood, and authority in Islam / Scott Kugle.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-253-34711-4 (cloth : alk. paper) 1. Zarruq, Ahmad ibn Ahmad, d. 1493. 2. Sufis—Morocco—Biography. 3. Sufism—Africa, North—History. 4. Islam and politics—Africa, North—History. I. Title.
BP80.Z25K84 2006
297.4092—dc22

2005032223

1 2 3 4 5 11 10 09 08 07 06

nean basin.

During the mid-fifteenth century C.E. (mid-ninth century Hijri), c
attacks of the Spanish and Portuguese against Morocco's coastal cities m
the internal weakness of Marinid rule. Iberian crusades were part of a lar
paign to cut off support for the last remaining Muslim strongholds in Ibe
cially Granada) and to channel the trade of gold and spices into Iberian ha
campaigns began with the surprise assault on Sebta (Ceuta) organized
C.E. by Prince Henry the Navigator. Within a week, Iberian forces cap
port city, killing or expelling all its inhabitants. But the conquest of Sebt
provide the means of dominating trade routes from interior Africa and Inc
Portuguese had hoped. Muslim merchants boycotted Sebta, and local tril
joined by Muslim "irregulars" (called *mujāhidīn* by those who suppo
cause) tried to retake the city. Faced with such resistance, the Portugu
compelled to conquer all the ports on the Moroccan coasts, both Medi
and Atlantic. Within a century, all the major ports with the exception of
fallen to Portuguese control. The response of the Marinid dynasty to su
assaults by Iberian forces was weak. Muslim "irregulars" had put up a d
Sebta without Marinid support, but failed to retake the city. The regent
Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā al-Waṭṭāsī, supported the defense of Tangier agains

to make a show of symbolic resistance to the Portuguese while negotiating for a peace that would allow them to quell internal dissent and prop up their state.[50]

Such an opportunistic policy led to increasing discontent among Moroccan political thinkers, including jurists and Sufis. Moroccans had grown used to seeing Iberia itself as a zone of war and conflict, but the southern shore of the Mediterranean had seemed like an inviolable zone of safety, symbolized by the term *Dār al-Islām*. The fall of Sebta sparked a widespread call for *jihād*. The Marinid state itself was incapable of organizing such campaigns, so the responsibility for *jihād* devolved onto the sharifian clans and Sufi communities. The call for *jihād* against Iberians therefore became an indirect call to oust the Marinids.

The Qādirīyya community in Fes participated in this political response. In addition to advocating a new model of saintly authority within Fes, they also preached the necessity of *jihād* against the Spanish and Portuguese invaders. The clearest example of this is the poetry of Muḥammad ibn Yaggabsh al-Tāzī, who urged his fellow Muslims to join in the fight against the Iberian incursions along

the coasts of Morocco. In his *Kitāb al-Jihād,* he echoes Ibn Khaldūr
that insecurity "has led to the loosening of social bonds and the erosion
solidarity."[51]

The internal weakness of Muslim society aided the external threat from Portugal and Spain. Al-Tāzī played off the mounting panic resulti *reconquista*, which was resulting in more expulsions of Andalusian Mu came as refugees to the urban centers of northern Morocco. "Are you that your enemies are investigating you and are employing every strat der to get at you? They have gathered together in numbers too large to have sent their spies and scouts to every land in order to inform them o numbers are, as well as your strength and convictions."[52] The list of r that al-Tāzī constructs to explain this decay is generic, including gree wine drinking, and other stock moralisms. What is unusual is that at the list he blames "the tyrannical ruler" (*al-sulṭān al-jā'ir*) for causing su weakness.[53] In this way, his moral criticism of common Muslims led against the Marinid rulers and their Waṭṭāsid ministers, and he urged tl

Marinid and Waṭṭāsid families had no direct claim to religious legitimacy rule.

There is earlier evidence of Qādirī agitation in favor of *jihād* from w capital of Fes beyond the eloquent and fiery poetry of al-Tāzī. In additic pensing quick, miraculous vigilante justice, Zarruq's friend Al-Amīn s the public against the Iberian incursions on the Moroccan coast and prea *jihād*. Zarruq tells how al-Amīn generated a public uproar about a (Andalusī) spy in the midst of Fes around 865 Hijri (1461–62 C.E.). confronted an Andalusian in Fes who was presumably a refugee f *reconquista* and claimed descent from the Prophet's family. He said, "Yo satisfied with just being a Muslim, but go about claiming a noble genealo in fact most likely you are a spy [for the Spanish or Portuguese]!"[54]

By making such an accusation, al-Amīn was playing with fire. Man in Fes were suspicious of the Andalusian refugees and questioned the their sincerity as converts to Islam. Many also resented the technical skills refugees and their success in finding patronage from the Marinid court.[55] nunciation and squabble escalated until the minister of state, ʿAlī ibn Y Waṭṭāsī, interceded to end the affair. He favored the Andalusian and ca

be carried out (inciting gossip that he had committed suicide). The Andalusian returned suddenly to Spanish soil, and some of his associates leaked the information that he really had been spying for the Christians. By then, al-Amīn had already died, a "martyr" (*shahīd*) for the cause of resentment against the Marinid rulers and public frenzy over the need to protect Morocco against Iberian invasion. This was also the first moment when the Qādirīs in Fes openly, though obliquely, protested against Marinid rule. By advocating *jihād* against the Iberians and questioning the legitimacy of Marinid rule, the Qādirīs allied with other Sufi movements outside Fes. The strongest of these was the movement headed by the charismatic Sufi leader Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī.[57] Al-Jazūlī combined rural traditions of Sufi activism with urban traditions of learned piety to fashion a new kind of spiritual path. This path set up the "axial saint" as the leader of a mass movement which aimed at the reform of rural life and the exercise of political power. Al-Jazūlī accepted disciples in vast numbers, without educational conditions and without insisting on a long period of personal training under his supervision.[58] In contrast to the Qādirī Sufis, al-Jazūlī encouraged his followers to visit the tombs of Moroccan saints only, rather than to travel east toward Cairo and the *Ḥijāz*. In cultivating a sense of local allegiance and cultural particularity, al-Jazūlī put himself forward as the saintly leader of Morocco, and he used the term *imām* to describe his authority.

Al-Jazūlī was allegedly a *sharīf*, and his method of contemplation focused heavily upon blessing the spirit of the Prophet, his own purported ancestor.[59] Indeed, he claimed that nobility resided in the descendants of the Prophet, implying that political authority should reside in them as well, for the most noble should naturally rule. "One is great because of the greatness of nobility and lineage. I am noble in lineage. My ancestor is the Messenger of God (may God bless and preserve him) and I am nearer to him than all of God's creation. My reputation is eternal, dyed in gold and silver. Oh you who desire gold and silver, follow us, for he who follows us dwells in the heights of *ᶜIliyyin* in this world and the hereafter!"[60] Al-Jazūlī used terms reminiscent of Shiᶜi thought to describe himself as an inerrant spiritual guide, "an intermediary between yourselves and True One."[61] He often referred to himself as *khalīfa*, exciting millenarian hopes among his listeners who may have expected him to lead a political revolution from his position of spiritual authority.[62]

Al-Jazūlī clearly saw political discontent as the fuel that kept his claim to spiritual leadership of all of Morocco burning bright. Yet he tried to focus this discontent into constructive channels: the reform of rural society, the spread of basic literacy and religious education, and the military defense of Moroccan ports against Iberian incursions. Al-Jazūlī was one of the strongest preachers of *jihād* in the countryside and coastal areas. His own aspiration to become a socially active and politically potent saint seems to have come into sharp focus as he participated in the *jihād* to defend Tangier (along with other Sufi colleagues and sharifian nobles) in 841 Hijri (1437–38 C.E.). Later, he encouraged his body of 12,000 followers

not only to engage in spiritual devotions, but also to form an irregula
assist in the *jihād* to compensate for lack of government campaigns.

Cornell cites fascinating evidence to illustrate how al-Jazūlī comb
ments of Qādirī devotions in building an ostensibly Shādhilī community.
to have kept company with Qādirī Sufis in Egypt and learned from th
forms of invoking blessing upon the Prophet. After his return to Morocc
not seem to have had intimate contact with the Qādirīs of Fes. Neverth
Qādirīyya community in Fes and the movement headed by al-Jazūlī o
capital converged, for both preached the need for *jihād* against the Iberi
elevated the prestige of sharifian families as political actors and lean
rising up against the Marinid state if it opposed the social mobilization

However, the question of the relationship between the Qādirīs in urb
ern Morocco and the followers of al-Jazūlī is open to speculation. Some
argue that followers of al-Jazūlī were involved in political activities a
Marinids in Fes itself.[63] However, evidence for this strong thesis is lacki
was no zawiya affiliated with the Jazūlī community in Fes until after the
and the death of al-Jazūlī, when his primary successor, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz
founded a zawiya there.[64] Others speculate about the possibility of "a
influence" of al-Jazūlī upon Qādirīs in this period.[65] Such an influen

partnership between Qādirīs and followers of al-Jazūlī should not be projected back in time to a period when the Marinid hold on power would have made such open associations dangerous. It is more accurate to assert that different Sufi communities shared the common hope that a sharifian leader would capture power through *jihād* propaganda. The Qādirīyya community in the urban centers (especially in Fes) entertained this hope, as did the Jazūlīyya in rural centers (especially in southern Morocco). The commonality of certain rhetoric or doctrines arose due to the congruent political aspirations of these groups. This commonality does not prove the existence of a formal political alliance or even sustained personal contact between these Sufi communities. It is not clear that the Qādirīs developed any complex ideology of religious leadership comparable to that developed by al-Jazūlī and elaborated by his later followers. The Qādirīs may have felt that any just ruler, especially from among the *shurafāʾ*, should replace the corrupt Marinid dynasty and reunite the Muslims of Morocco in a *jihād*. When al-Jazūlī's followers came to Fes, they naturally gravitated toward the Qādirī zawiya as a meeting place, since they had no opportunity to build their own zawiya in this period. The first mention of al-Jazūlī's followers in Fes occurred after his death, when Ahmad Zarruq met two prominent followers of al-Jazūli who visited Zawiya Bū'l-Quṭūṭ.[66]

It is crucial to note the relation of the Qādirī Sufis with other Sufi movements that advocated *jihād* and open opposition to the Marinid sultan. Zarruq's precarious position in Fes is intimately connected to the activities of the Qādirīs. The balance Zarruq enjoyed in his youth (between spiritual cultivation with juridical Sufis and spiritual exploration with Qādirī Sufis) was toppled when Qādirī saints supported a sharifian revolution. This crucial event in Zarruq's life can only be understood if the Qādirī community's political agenda is carefully distinguished from that of the Jazūlīyya movement that was to dominate Morocco in later periods.

The *sharīf* al-ᶜImrānī proceeded to set up a new "republic" in which the ruled as the rightful and just leaders of the Muslim community. Althou not possess written records of their new ideology of political power, it se they dispensed with the position of sultan and minister of state.[89] The st their new ideology is evident in the aftermath of the revolution. On heari overthrow of the Marinid sultan, the Waṭṭāsī family sought to return to l rightful rulers. They expected the *sharīf* and his supporters to welcome th since they had previously championed themselves as ruling on behalf of the as their patrons and protectors. However, the *sharīf* refused the Waṭṭāsī fa their military forces entry into the city; after a tussle, the Waṭṭāsī family e their forces in the garrison town just beyond the city walls and cut off t sharifian republic from access to the countryside.

Within Fes, the *sharīf* and his son ruled for six years, showing tha trolled a following of religious notables and Sufis who rallied the peo cause. In this support, the Qādirī community played a major role. The Qā were involved in the intrigue that marked the beginning phases of the re As mentioned above, al-Amīn rose to public controversy by denounci (who was evidently close to the Waṭṭāsī minister) as a Spanish spy withi

also articulated a basis of legitimacy for the sharif's rule. They had already been experimenting with visionary initiations and the idea of total absorption in the personality of ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, a saint who was a *sharīf*. In addition, they cultivated a spiritual connection directly to the Prophet himself while garnering patronage from the Qādirī family of *shurafāʾ*. This mode of spiritual authority shared a reciprocal affinity with the al-Jūṭī sharif's claim to political authority based on genealogical descent from the Prophet. This claim was that the descen-

dants carried the Prophet's own personal virtues, sense of justice, and righ
Qādirī leaders forged this Sufi-sharifian alliance in Fes, in a similar way
Jazūlīyya community forged an alliance with the Saᶜdian family of *shur*
side of Fes.

The events of the revolution in Fes thrust the young Zarruq into the
intrigue and public debate in a way that threatened to destroy his future in
ideals clashed with political expediency. His budding maturity rested on a
balance of patronage and juridical training in the madrasa and exploratio
devotions and exercises under the care of two spirituals guides: al-Qūr
Zaytūnī. The revolution destroyed any semblance of balance between th
ous forces and institutions. The revolution ruptured the cultural consen
political rule and its religious legitimacy that had been in force since the b
of Marinid rule, over two centuries before.

The revolution pitted Zarruq's two patrons, both of whom he look
saints, against each other in a moment of political danger. His loyalty to o
only be seen as betrayal of the other. In the months preceding the actual re
Zarruq's colleagues in the Qādirī community began to intrigue against
rule. Zarruq records that he accompanied al-Zaytūnī and others on the

Yiᶜzza with our Shaykh al-Zaytūnī and a group of his disciples (*fuqarāʾ*). Intimate secrets were revealed to us, while illuminations and blessings came to us that could never be surpassed.... One day al-Zaytūnī said something about the two new servants of the sultan and commanded me to keep this secret for some days; and I did keep silent."[90]